

THE PHILIPPINES.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. GEORGE TURNER,
OF WASHINGTON,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Monday, January 22, and Tuesday, January 23, 1900.

"It is never too late to listen to the dictates of prudence, and it
should be an easy task when honor points the way."

WASHINGTON.

1900.



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SPEECH

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The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 45) declaring the purpose of the United States with reference to the Philippine Islands—

Mr. TURNER said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: We have now had at the present session of Congress in this Chamber two deliverances on the Philippine question from an Administration standpoint—one by the President in his annual message to Congress, and one by the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE] in the speech delivered by him in this Chamber on Tuesday of last week. I think it may be presumed that both deliverances were authoritative—that of the President, of course, because it was the utterance of the President; that of the Senator from Indiana because we were told by the inspired press that its delivery was determined after consultation with the President, and because the Senator himself told us substantially that its delivery at the then early period in the session was on account of the general desire of Senators and Members of the other House to have an expression of his views at the earliest practicable moment. I think it may be presumed also that a discussion of the subject from two such distinguished sources would conclude everything that could be said on that side of the question. Notwithstanding this, I must confess that for one I am still unregenerate and unconvinced. Neither the stately periods of the President's message nor the fervid oratory of the Senator's address can change the truth of history or metamorphose a proposed course of action, already partially completed, which involves a shocking breach of national faith into an act of policy defensible on grounds of justice, morality, and national duty. I call the President's policy a proposed course of action, because, while he is fully committed to it and has endeavored to carry it out so far as lay in his power, the path of honorable retreat is yet open to the American people. The President himself has consistently maintained that the ultimate disposition of these islands is for the determination of Congress. Everybody knows who knows anything that the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain was not intended to cut off or abridge either the right or the opportunity for the fullest range of discussion and decision by the

American Congress. Everyone knows, likewise, that that treaty would never have been ratified if there had been an intimation in this Chamber by any person that Congress would be embarrassed in considering the matter *de novo* and wholly without reference to any changed aspect in the legal status of the matter by reason of the ratification of the treaty.

Approaching the question, then, as if it were still open and unconcluded, as it in fact is, the first thing that strikes my mind, and which ought to strike every rightly constituted mind, it seems to me, is the breach of faith involved in the pretensions put forth by the President and in the resolutions of the Senator from Indiana of a right to absorb and govern the Philippine Islands wholly without reference to the consent of the people of those islands. That people alone of all the Asiatic peoples has shown a remarkable aspiration for liberty and independence, and a no less remarkable resolution and courage in the effort to attain those great blessings. For three hundred years they waged against Spain an intermittent warfare for independence, for the right to govern themselves in their own way, under their own laws, and by their own rulers. One of those struggles had only lately terminated when our own war with Spain began, and it had terminated on conditions that were honorable and advantageous to the insurrectionists. I shall not stop here to discuss the charge which has been made, that the leaders of the Filipino people in that struggle had sold them out for a moneyed consideration. If true, it argues nothing against what I shall say during the progress of my remarks. The people of the Philippine Islands—and I refer now more particularly to those who are engaged in war with our own country—are a brave, resolute, liberty-loving people, and the struggles which they have made to secure liberty and independence for themselves ought to win them the respect and admiration of every member of the American Senate. When our war with Spain began it found these people restless and discontented, it is true, but still generally at peace with their rulers. We induced them to break that peace. Our diplomatic agents hunted up their leaders, then dispersed throughout the world, and induced them to return to their homes and to their people and to foment another insurrection. Our warships conveyed those leaders to their native shores and landed them there. Our functionaries, both civil and military, furnished them with money, with arms, and with munitions of war. When these leaders had been landed among their people they told them that the great North American Republic was at war with Spain; that it had invited their assistance and cooperation; that the result would be the expulsion of Spain from the Philippines, the extinction of her power in that quarter of the globe, and the realization of their own long-cherished hopes and aspirations for liberty and independence; and basing their action upon these statements, they appealed to the people of the Philippine Islands to again rise in revolt against the power of Spain. This appeal was responded to promptly and with remarkable unanimity, and thereafter the war was waged with such ardor and vigor that when our own land forces had reached the vicinity of Manila they found the interior of the island of Luzon entirely cleared of hostile Spanish forces. Such as were not then prisoners of war were beleaguered by the insurgents in the city of Manila, and their spirit and their courage were so broken by the assaults which

they had been compelled to resist on the part of the Filipinos that after a sham battle they surrendered themselves and their city to the American forces. Undoubtedly if our forces had delayed their arrival at Manila only a few weeks, the insurgents themselves would have forced a surrender of the city at the point of the bayonet.

These facts are shown to be true beyond any question by documents in our possession. These documents also show that the Filipinos never had any idea from the beginning of their struggle that they were fighting for anything other or less than their own independence from all foreign domination. Yet the President of the United States in his annual message makes the unfounded assertion that the idea of independence on the part of the Filipino people was an afterthought, founded on the sinister ambitions of certain of their leaders. Here is what he says on that subject. After having spoken of the arrival of the commissioners appointed by him to visit the islands, he says:

But before their arrival at Manila the sinister ambition of a few leaders of the Filipinos had created a situation full of embarrassment for us and most grievous in its consequences to themselves. The clear and impartial preliminary report of the commissioners, which I transmit herewith, gives so lucid and comprehensive a history of the present insurrectionary movement that the story need not be here repeated. It is enough to say that the claim of the rebel leader that he was promised independence by any officer of the United States in return for his assistance has no foundation in fact and is categorically denied by the very witnesses who were called to prove it. The most the insurgent leader hoped for when he came back to Manila was the liberation of the islands from the Spanish control, which they had been laboring for years without success to throw off.

Against this unfounded declaration I appeal to the truth of history as exhibited in the documents submitted to us by the President himself and vouched for as authentic and worthy of credit. The first of these documents to which I wish to call the attention of the Senate is a proclamation issued by the Filipino junta in Hongkong before the departure of Admiral Dewey's fleet to engage the Spanish fleet in the bay of Manila. This proclamation is found in Senate Document No. 62, part 1, Fifty-fifth Congress, third session, which document embraces our treaty of peace with Spain, the proceedings of our peace commissioners at Paris, and the testimony submitted to them there, and is a part of the testimony which they had under consideration at that time. Now, what does this proclamation say?

Compatriots: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, and in a way the most free and independent nation could hardly wish for.

The Americans, not from mercenary motives, but for the sake of humanity and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend their protecting mantle to our beloved country, now that they have been obliged to sever connections with Spain, owing to the tyranny this nation is exercising in Cuba, causing enormous injury to the Americans, who have such large commercial and other interests there.

At the present moment an American squadron is preparing to sail for the Philippines.

We, your brothers, are very much afraid that you may be induced to fire on the Americans. No, brothers, never make this mistake. Rather blow your own brains out than fire a shot or treat as enemies those who are your liberators.

Your natural enemies, your executioners, the authors of your misery and unhappiness, are the Spaniards who govern you. Against these you must raise your weapons and odium; understand well, against the Spaniards and never against the Americans.

Mr. TILLMAN. What is the date of that proclamation?

Mr. TURNER. The date is not given in this publication, but it is stated in the publication that the proclamation was in advance of the sailing of the American squadron for the harbor of Manila. The proclamation is preceded by the following statement:

The following is a translation from the Spanish of a proclamation of the rebel leaders in Hongkong, sent over to the Philippines in advance of the American squadron.

The next thing that happened was that General Aguinaldo, the leader of the insurgents, appeared in the city of Singapore about the 28th of April, 1898, and there he was sought by Mr. E. Spencer Pratt, consul of the United States in that city, and after an interview between them the following correspondence passed between Mr. Pratt and Admiral Dewey. Mr. Pratt telegraphed:

Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hongkong arrange with commodore for general cooperation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph. PRATT.

To which Commodore Dewey replied:

Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible.

DEWEY.

What passed between Consul Pratt and Aguinaldo is stated in a publication in the Singapore Free Press of Wednesday, May 4, 1898, which Consul Pratt incloses in a dispatch to the Secretary of State, and he says in reference to this publication:

I regret to have to report that the circumstances attending the departure from here of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo to join Commodore Dewey, which I had endeavored so hard to prevent being disclosed, were in substance made public in yesterday's edition of the Singapore Free Press, from the inclosed copy of which you will note, by reference to my reports Nos. 212 and 213 of the 28th and 30th ultimo, respectively, that though the facts are in the main correctly given, the dates are not quite accurate and a certain amount of conjecture has been indulged in as regards my action in the matter and that of the Commodore.

Here is what this newspaper says passed between Aguinaldo and Consul Pratt, and which Consul Pratt says is substantially correct:

During this conference, at which Mr. Bray acted as interpreter, General Aguinaldo explained to the American consul-general, Mr. Pratt, the incidents and objects of the late rebellion, and described the present disturbed state of the country. General Aguinaldo then proceeded to detail the nature of the cooperation he could give, in which he, in the event of the American forces from the squadron landing and taking possession of Manila, would guarantee to maintain order and discipline amongst the native troops and inhabitants in the same humane way in which he had hitherto conducted the war, and prevent them from committing outrages on defenseless Spaniards beyond the inevitable in fair and honorable warfare. He further declared his ability to establish a proper and responsible government on liberal principles, and would be willing to accept the same terms for the country as the United States intend giving to Cuba.

That is what Aguinaldo told Mr. Pratt he expected from the Government of the United States in return for the cooperation of himself and his countrymen. And this is what the same newspaper account reports Consul Pratt as saying and doing in response to Aguinaldo's declaration:

The consul-general of the United States, coinciding with the general views expressed during the discussion, placed himself at once in telegraphic communication with Admiral Dewey at Hongkong, between whom and Mr. Pratt a frequent interchange of telegrams consequently took place.

Mr. President, a few days after this interview between Aguinaldo and Consul Pratt, and after Aguinaldo had gone to join

Commodore Dewey, the Filipinos then residing at Singapore, exiles from their country, desiring to recognize the interposition of Consul Pratt in favor of their country, gave him a complimentary serenade, which is also reported in the Singapore Free Press, and which he transmits with his dispatches to the Secretary of State of the United States. This report throws further light upon the relations between this consul and this leader of the insurgents, and shows what the Filipinos had a right to expect from the Government of the United States. At this serenade an address was made to Consul Pratt by Dr. Santos, one of the Filipino refugees, and in the course of that address he said:

Mr. SPOONER. From what page is the Senator about to read?

Mr. TURNER. From page 351 of this document. He said:

Our countrymen at home, and those of us residing here, refugees from Spanish misrule and tyranny in our beloved native land, hope that the United States, your nation, persevering in its humane policy, will efficaciously second the programme arranged between you, sir, and General Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore, and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States. Our warmest thanks are especially due to you, sir, personally, for having been the first to cultivate relations with General Aguinaldo and arrange for the cooperation with Admiral Dewey, thus supporting our aspirations which time and subsequent actions have developed and caused to meet with the applause and approbation of your nation. Finally, we request you to convey to your illustrious President and the American people, and to Admiral Dewey, our sentiments of sincere gratitude and our most fervent wishes for their prosperity.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. When was that?

Mr. TURNER. On June 8, and it is reported in the Straits Times, of Singapore, of June 9.

Consul Pratt, in his reply, does not deny that he had promoted this arrangement to secure the independence of the Filipino people under the protection of the United States. On the contrary, his reply tacitly admits it. He says:

I am thankful to have been the means, though merely the accidental means, of bringing about the arrangement between General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey, which has resulted so happily. I can only hope that the eventful outcome will be all that can be desired for the happiness and welfare of the Filipinos. My parting words to General Aguinaldo were, "General, when you have proved yourself great, prove yourself magnanimous," and from the treatment accorded to the recent Spanish prisoners it would appear that he had done so.

The next document to which I wish to call attention, and all of these documents are appended to the Spanish treaty and were submitted to our commissioners at Paris, is the letter from Aguinaldo to the President, dated June 10, 1898. This letter is found on pages 360 and 361 of Senate Document No. 62:

CAVITE, June 10, 1898.

To the President of the Republic of the Great North American Nation.

DEAR AND HONORED SIR: I come to greet you with the most tender effusion of my soul and to express to you my deep and sincere gratitude, in the name of the unfortunate Philippine people, for the efficient and disinterested protection which you have decided to give it, to shake off the yoke of the cruel and corrupt Spanish domination, as you are doing to the equally unfortunate Cuba, which Spain wishes to see annihilated rather than free and independent, giving her, to quiet her and to cicatrize the deep wounds made in her heart by the iniquities committed upon her children, a false autonomy, of which one bold blow of the Governor-General may deprive her immediately, as she has no colonial army to serve as a counterpoise to the almost sovereign powers of that supreme authority.

At the same time, as I am always frank and open, I must express to you the great sorrow which all of us Filipinos felt on reading in the Times, a newspaper of the greatest circulation and reputation in the whole world, in its issue of the 5th of last month, the astounding statement that you, sir, will

retain these islands until the end of the war, and, if Spain fails to pay the indemnity, will sell them to a European power, preferably Great Britain.

After going on and arguing against such a course, he concludes in the last paragraph of this letter by stating:

I close by protesting once and a thousand times, in the name of this people, which knows how to fight for its honor by means of its improvised warriors and artillery men, against the statement published by the Times, mainly for the purpose of casting a blot in history upon its glorious name; a people which trusts blindly in you not to abandon it to the tyranny of Spain, but to leave it free and independent, even if you make peace with Spain, and I offer fervent prayers for the over-increasing prosperity of your powerful nation, to which and to you I shall show unbounded gratitude, and shall repay with interest that great obligation.

The next document to which I call the attention of the Senate is a letter from Consul Wildman to Aguinaldo from Hongkong. The date is not given here, but it is contained in a dispatch to the State Department by Consul Wildman dated August 7. I see that in the body of the dispatch he says he wrote this letter to Aguinaldo on July 25, 1898.

If you stand shoulder to shoulder—

Mr. QUARLES. On what page is that found?

Mr. TURNER. It is page 339, at the bottom of the page. In this letter to Aguinaldo Consul Wildman says:

If you stand shoulder to shoulder with our forces, and do not allow any small differences of opinion and fancied slights to keep you from the one set purpose of freeing your island from the cruelties under which you claim it has been groaning for so many hundred years, your name in history will be a glorious one. There are greater prizes in the world than being the mere chief of a revolution.

Now, mark this language:

Do not forget that the United States undertook this war for the sole purpose of relieving the Cubans from the cruelties under which they were suffering, and not for the love of conquest or the hope of gain. Whatever the final disposition of the conquered territory may be, you can trust to the United States that justice and honor will control all their dealings with you. The first thing is to throw off the Spanish yoke. Do not let anything interfere with this.

Now, Mr. President, for the purpose of showing that these representations were brought to the attention of the Department, I refer the Senate to a memorandum made by Secretary J. B. Moore for the information of Secretary Day, dated June 22, 1898, and found in this publication on page 340. This memorandum says:

For the Secretary:

Here are two dispatches from Mr. Pratt, consul-general at Singapore, respectively numbered 214 and 217.

No. 214 incloses a copy of Mr. Pratt's confidential No. 212, to which you have already replied.

It also incloses a copy of his No. 213, narrating his parting interview with General Aguinaldo. Mr. Pratt states that in this interview he enjoined upon General Aguinaldo the necessity, under Commodore Dewey's direction, of assuming absolute control over his forces in the Philippines, since no excesses on their part would be tolerated by the United States, the President having declared that the present hostilities with Spain were to be carried on in strict conformity with the principles of civilized warfare. Mr. Pratt states that to this injunction General Aguinaldo gave his full assent, assuring him that he intended, and was able, when in the field, to hold his followers, the insurgents, in check and lead them on "as our commander should direct."

General Aguinaldo, as Mr. Pratt reports, "further stated that he hoped the United States would assume protection of the Philippines for at least long enough to allow the inhabitants to establish a government of their own, in the organization of which he would desire American advice and assistance." "These questions," says Mr. Pratt, "I told him I had no authority to discuss." This confirms Mr. Pratt's statement, in his recent telegram, that he confined his action to bringing General Aguinaldo and Commodore Dewey together.

The only intimation in this whole record from beginning to end that the Filipinos or anybody acting for them ever expressed a willingness to accept anything less than their independence is contained in a letter addressed by Consul Williams at Manila to Secretary Day, dated June 16, 1898, in which he states that in a conversation with Aguinaldo the latter had stated that certain of his leaders had expressed a willingness to accept annexation to the United States. Yet, Mr. President, Aguinaldo, in the letter to the President which I have already read, dated June 10, 1898, six days before this supposed conversation between himself and Consul Williams, had notified the President that when peace was finally concluded between the United States and Spain he expected that it would be done upon terms that would concede the independence of the Philippine Islands.

Moreover, Aguinaldo, in a letter to Consul Williams, dated August 1, 1898, only one month and fourteen days after this supposed conversation between himself and Consul Williams, argued strenuously and forcefully in favor of the independence of the Philippine Islands and gives no intimation whatever that in any conversation with Consul Williams he had indicated the willingness of anybody connected with the Philippine republic to accept annexation to the United States. This letter is so pathetic and affecting and breathes so high a spirit that it would move the heart of anybody not impervious to generous and magnanimous feelings. I desire to read a few of its passages to the Senate in this connection. It is found in the Senate document before read from, on pages 398 and 399. He says:

Why do not the American generals operate in conjunction with the Filipino generals and, uniting the forces, render the end more decisive?

Is it intended, indeed, to carry out annexation against the wish of these people, distorting the legal sense of that word? If the revolutionary government is the genuine representative, by right and deed, of the Filipino people, as we have proved when necessary, why is it wished to oppress instead of gaining their confidence and friendship?

It is useless for me to represent to my compatriots the favors received through Admiral Dewey, for they assert that up to the present the American forces have shown not an active, only a passive, cooperation, from which they suppose that the intention of these forces are not for the best. They assert, besides, that it is possible to suppose that I was brought from Hong-kong to assure those forces by my presence that the Filipinos would not make common cause with the Spaniards, and that they have delivered to the Filipinos the arms abandoned by the former in the Cavite Arsenal, in order to save themselves much labor, fatigue, blood, and treasure that a war with Spain would cost.

But I do not believe these unworthy suspicions. I have full confidence in the generosity and philanthropy which shine in characters of gold in the history of the privileged people of the United States, and for that reason, invoking the friendship which you profess for me and the love which you have for my people, I pray you earnestly, as also the distinguished generals who represent your country in these islands, that you entreat the Government at Washington to recognize the revolutionary government of the Filipinos, and I, for my part, will labor with all my power with my people that the United States shall not repent their sentiments of humanity in coming to the aid of an oppressed people.

Say to the Government at Washington that the Filipino people abominate savagery, that in the midst of their past misfortunes they have learned to love liberty, order, justice, and civil life, and that they are not able to lay aside their own wishes when their future lot and history are under discussion. Say also that I and my leaders know what we owe to our unfortunate country, that we know how to admire and are ready to imitate the disinterestedness, the abnegation, and the patriotism of the grand men of America, among whom stands preeminent the immortal General Washington.

You and I both love the Filipinos; both see their progress, their prosperity, and their greatness. For this we should avoid any conflict which would be fatal to the interests of both peoples, who should always be brothers. In this you will acquire a name in the history of humanity and an ineradicable affection in the hearts of the Filipino people.

Mr. President, can anybody read these documents and say truthfully that the idea of independence was an afterthought with the Filipino people? On the contrary, from the very beginning, from a period anterior even to the outbreak of hostilities between our Government and Spain, they were advising us in any and every possible way that the stake for which they were fighting and for which they expected to fight was the independence of their beloved country. Nor is it strictly true, Mr. President, to say that they were never promised their independence. A fair reading of these letters of Consul Pratt and Consul Williams would induce us to say that they were promised independence by those officials, if not in express terms, at least by necessary implication. A reading of the letters from General Anderson, the commander of our forces at Cavite before the arrival of General Merritt in that country, would also carry the same intimation to that people. I want the Senate to listen to what General Anderson said to them at that time. On the 4th day of July, 1898, General Anderson indited a letter to General Aguinaldo, and said to him in that letter, among other things:

Mr. SPOONER. On what page is that found?

Mr. TURNER. That letter is found on page 390. General Anderson wrote to Aguinaldo as follows:

GENERAL: I have the honor to inform you that the United States of America, whose land forces I have the honor to command in this vicinity, being at war with the Kingdom of Spain, has entire sympathy and most friendly sentiments for the native people of the Philippine Islands.

For these reasons I desire to have the most amicable relations with you, and to have you and your people cooperate with us in military operations against the Spanish forces.

In another letter found in this document, at page 391, dated July 6, 1898, General Anderson says to Aguinaldo:

Very soon we expect a large addition to our forces, and it must be apparent to you as a military officer that we will require much more room to camp our soldiers, and also storeroom for our supplies. For this I would like to have your excellency's advice and cooperation, as you are best acquainted with the resources of this country.

It must be apparent to you that we do not intend to remain here inactive, but to move promptly against our common enemy; but for a short time we must organize and land supplies and also retain a place for storing them near our fleet and transports.

I am solicitous to avoid any conflict of authority which may result from having two sets of military officers exercising command in the same place.

I am also anxious to avoid sickness by taking sanitary precautions. Your own medical officers have been making voluntary inspections with mine and fear epidemic disease, if the vicinity is not made clean. Would it not be well to have prisoners work to this end under the advice of the surgeons?

I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that we had no prisoners at that time, but the only Spanish prisoners were those held by the forces of the Philippine republic.

Mr. McLaurin. Whose letter is that?

Mr. TURNER. That is General Anderson's letter to General Aguinaldo. The last letter from General Anderson to which I shall call the attention of the Senate is dated July 23, 1898, and in it he says to Aguinaldo:

GENERAL: When I came here three weeks ago I requested your excellency to give what assistance you could to procure means of transportation for the American army, as it was to fight in the cause of your people. So far we have received no response.

As you represent your people, I now have the honor to make requisition on you for 500 horses and 50 oxen and ox carts.

If you can not secure these, I will have to pass you and make requisition directly on the people.

The cause of these letters and other letters, and acts of a similar character, with which I shall not further weary the Senate, was explained in the testimony of General Merritt, given before our peace commissioners at Paris. That testimony, or so much of it as I will read, will be found on page 367 of Senate Document No. 62. Among other things, General Merritt says to the commissioners:

Before that time, rather early after my arrival there at Manila, I had telegraphed to the War Department of the possible trouble that might arise with the insurgents, and asked for instructions as to whether I should consider them as enemies and treat them accordingly in such case. To that request I had no reply, and the consequence was I had to mix diplomacy with force in order to avoid a tilt with them. I knew if bloodshed was once had that would be the end of an amicable status there, and to that end I was careful only to enforce that which was proper and which I conceived must be executed in order to have my troops fully occupy the ground we had taken.

Mr. President, when Secretary Day heard of this interview between Aguinaldo and Consul Pratt at Singapore and of the letter addressed to Aguinaldo by Consul Wildman at Hongkong he took occasion to write a letter to each of those officials disavowing their course, but he never disavowed, nor did any other official of this Government ever disavow the course of those consuls to Aguinaldo or to anybody else, although we were then in daily communication with Aguinaldo in and about the vicinity of Manila. Why was not this done? The answer is obvious and is indicated in the testimony of General Merritt. We desired the friendly cooperation and assistance of the Filipinos in our war with Spain. We knew that if we disclosed to them our purpose to absorb their land and deny their independence, we would not only not have their friendly cooperation and assistance, but we would have their active opposition. We knew that we would be at war, not only with the Spaniards but with the Filipinos, from the very moment that we set foot upon the soil of those islands.

Mr. President, does not this whole miserable history bear out the statement with which I began, that we owe that to the Filipinos, by virtue of what has transpired, which, if we now go on with our pretensions against their liberty and their independence, will be looked on as a gross breach of faith upon the part of the American people? Whatever may be said as to actual promises of independence, it is indisputable, nobody can deny it, that we sought and accepted the assistance of the Filipinos, knowing that the stake which they fought for was independence, and when they had almost won their independence, when it required but one more effort on their part to clear their soil from the last vestige of Spanish dominion, we, their professed friend and ally, without any previous intimation of our purpose, stepped into the shoes of Spain and opposed our overwhelming power to the accomplishment of their long-cherished hopes and aspirations. Mr. President, our conduct then and there has no parallel in the history of the world from the beginning of time down to the present moment. If it be persisted in it will be worse than Punic faith. Beside it Punic faith will hereafter be considered as full observance of honorable obligations. It is indescribable. To the honest, unperverted American mind it is inconceivable. I venture the assertion that there is not one American voter in a hundred who would not have repudiated as perfidious and dishonorable the pretensions put forth by the President of the United States and by the resolutions of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE], if they had been called upon with full knowledge of all

the facts, to sanction them in the beginning and before the present desolating war began. The truth of the matter is that those pretensions have from the beginning and do now constitute a stain on the honor of this nation, which we may atone for if we will, but which can never be entirely wiped out. The man or men who have put us in this position before the world deserve and will receive the condemnation of the American people. That people have a conscience which stings and an honor which reprobates when they see injustice perpetrated by their servants and in their name on a helpless and deserving people. Those in high places who have stifled their own consciences at the dictation of political expediency will learn that fact to their sorrow long before this deplorable chapter in our national history is closed forever.

Mr. President, the President in his annual message to Congress predicated our right in the Philippines on the ground that we had done nothing and promised nothing to the inhabitants of those islands which precluded us in honor from acquiring them, and on the further ground that we had legally purchased those islands from Spain, their former owner, and he declared, therefore, that they are ours by every title of law and equity. I do not believe that they are ours by either title. If they were private possessions, any court of equity adjudicating between ourselves and the Filipinos, even Judge Day himself, in his capacity as a judge of the circuit court of the United States, administering equity, would be compelled to declare on the record that, instead of being trustees of those islands under God, as the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE] thinks we are, we are in truth and in fact trustees *de son tort*, in fraud of the rights of the Filipinos. The *suggestio falsi* and the *suppressio veri* are both there for the purpose of constituting the equitable jurisdiction. Nor do I believe it lies in our mouth to say that we hold a legal title to those islands. *Caveat emptor*. How could we purchase from Spain something which Spain herself did not possess? How could the Filipinos be bound by the empty act of Spain in undertaking to sell a sovereignty which they had wrested from her by the God-given right of revolution? If it be said that while Spain had lost her sovereignty *de facto* it still existed *de jure*, I say that as to us she had lost her sovereignty both in law and in fact. We can not be permitted in any forum, either of law or conscience, to breathe both hot and cold to the Filipinos. Having assisted them to destroy the sovereignty of Spain, we can not be permitted now to turn around and say that while it is true that that sovereignty had departed as a fact, it still existed *de jure*, for the purpose of purchase by us. And I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that if we have any rights whatever in the Philippines, it is by purchase, pure and simple, and nothing else. At the time of the signing of the protocol, which ended the war with Spain, we were not in possession of a single foot of territory in the Philippines which had not before that been wrested from Spain by the victorious armies of the Philippine republic, and by them surrendered to us as an act of comity to a friend and an ally. Judge Day himself places this matter right in a publication from him which I saw in the public prints a few weeks ago, and in which he points out that such rights as we do possess in the Philippines we acquired by purchase, and not by conquest. I am sorry that I have not the very full and satisfactory expression of Judge

Day upon this subject to present to the Senate now in connection with my remarks.

It may be assumed by some that any discussion of the status of this country in the Philippine Islands from a legal standpoint is abstract and profitless since our sovereignty has been declared by treaty and is therefore fixed in all our own forums. But is it so fixed, Mr. President? Neither that instrument nor any other to which the Filipinos were not parties can fix it in the forum of conscience. That forum finds its being in the Congress of the United States primarily, with right of appeal to the people of the United States in their collective capacity as the ultimate sovereign to whom all questions of conscience must in the end be submitted and decided. That people will determine hereafter, whatever Congress may now do, whether the Philippines "are ours by every title of law and equity." Our people are broad, generous, humane, and magnanimous, and their every instinct is for right and justice. I can not doubt that, when the matter is submitted to them understandingly, they will render a just and righteous verdict. In the meantime, what a cause and what a forum for an advocate filled with holy zeal for justice and with righteous indignation against wrong perpetrated in high places! Oh, for a Burke, or a Fox, or a Pitt to demand justice for an outraged people, and to scourge with scorpion whip the cant and hypocrisy that would oppress them under the guise of extending liberty and civilization.

Mr. President, the Senator from Indiana did not address himself to our position in the Philippines from the standpoint of right and justice. His address was a rhapsody directed to our interests and our senses; and while it was very beautiful, he must pardon me for saying that it lacked that majestic harmony which can be evoked only when the nobler chords are struck. We now know from his address, if we did not before know, that the islands are both rich and beautiful, that their climate is salubrious, their waters healing, their soil fertile, their productions diversified, their position commanding, and that the opportunities to exploit them for our enrichment are many and manifold; but we do not know by what right Spain, after being expelled from them by their 10,000,000 inhabitants, could sell them and their inhabitants to us without the consent of the latter, nor do we know by what right the United States, after having assisted to expel Spain from those islands, could buy them and their 10,000,000 inhabitants without the consent of the latter. Nor does the Senator from Indiana tell us, unless he intends us to infer the right from the claim which he makes, that the Filipinos are a barbarous race of people and that the principles of liberty declared by our great political charter were never intended to have application to such a people. But the Senator must pardon me again if I express doubt whether his opportunities have been such as to constitute him an authority on the subject of the capabilities of the Filipino people. We all know that his ability to travel through the island of Luzon and to mix with its people was much restricted during his recent visit to the Orient, and the same may be said of all the other islands, unless possibly we except that group governed by the Sultan of Sulu. Those islands, I believe, at the time of the visit of the Senator had been won over to friendly consideration by the extraordinary means which that great Oriental statesman, Li Hung Chang, advised us to employ in the efforts to pacify all of

the islands. But there are others, whose opportunities have been greater than those of the Senator from Indiana, who tell us a different story concerning the capabilities of the Filipinos; and I prefer, as I have no doubt the country will prefer, to believe them rather than to accept the version of the Senator from Indiana.

Admiral Dewey tells us, from observation and experience with the Filipinos, that they are far more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba. He reiterated this in his views formulated for the information of our peace commissioners at Paris. In those views, which are published in Senate Document No. 62, on page 383, I find, among others, this statement from Admiral Dewey. It is very brief:

In a telegram sent to the Department on June 23 I expressed the opinion that "these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races." Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion.

Mr. TILLMAN. As the Senator is speaking of Admiral Dewey's testimony in connection with this matter, I should like to ask him if he has ever found in any official dispatch whether or not Admiral Dewey made a compact with Aguinaldo as to the conditions on which the war should be prosecuted?

Mr. TURNER. I have found nothing on that subject in the documents published.

Mr. CHANDLER. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. TURNER. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I ask whether there is any evidence that there were any active insurgents in the Philippine Islands when Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet? The Senator speaks of our assisting the insurgents to take possession of the Philippine Islands. When the news of Dewey's victory went around the world, and when, as the Senator says, we began to assist the insurgents to take possession of the islands, were there any active insurgents in all the islands?

Mr. TURNER. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER. If so, I should be very glad to be informed of it, because I had supposed there were none.

Mr. TURNER. I shall not take the time to turn to the letter now, but the Senator will find in this publication a dispatch from Consul Williams, at Manila, to Secretary Day, before the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Spain, in which Consul Williams told Judge Day that there were 5,000 armed insurgents then in and around the city of Manila.

Mr. CHANDLER. I have no doubt there were plenty of armed Filipino insurgents at Hongkong, but I have yet to see any reliable evidence that the insurrection at that particular time had one particle of vitality in the Philippine Islands.

Mr. TURNER. Then the Senator has not read this correspondence, which I commend to his consideration.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will allow me, there were undoubtedly insurgents, inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, with arms which they were ready to use if they were encouraged and assisted, as the Senator says, by the United States, but that the insurrection had any vitality whatever on the day of Dewey's victory I have never believed.

Mr. TILLMAN. With the permission of the Senator from Washington, I will read from page 319 of Senate Document No.

62, Fifty-fifth Congress, third session, a letter from Consul Williams, dated February 22, 1898, in which he says:

Peace was proclaimed, and since my coming festivities therefor were held; but there is no peace and has been none for about two years. Conditions here and in Cuba are practically alike. War exists, battles are of almost daily occurrence, ambulances bring in many wounded, and hospitals are full.

That was February 22, 1898, before we declared war.

Prisoners are brought here and shot without trial, and Manila is under martial law.

The Crown forces have not been able to dislodge a rebel army within 10 miles of Manila, and last Saturday, February 19, a battle was there fought and five dead left on the field. Much of such information is found in my longer dispatch, referred to, and which is at your command.

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will allow me, the difficulty is for me to understand, if that be true—and I am not now prepared to say that it is not true, although I somewhat doubt it—why Aguinaldo and all the leaders of the rebellion had gone off to Hongkong to enjoy the money of the Spanish Government, which had been agreed to be paid to them as a reason for abandoning the insurrection.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. President—

Mr. HOAR. I should like to ask the Senator one question. I inquire if the Senator has formed his opinion on this subject in ignorance of that fact?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TALIAFERRO in the chair). The Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. TILLMAN. With the consent of the Senator from Washington, I will read some additional testimony from Mr. Williams, under date of March 19, 1898, page 320 of the same document. He writes to the Assistant Secretary of State as follows:

SIR: Matters are in a serious state here. I have daily communication by cable and letter with Commodore Dewey, but we pass letters by British and other shipmasters and by private parties, because cables and letters are tampered with.

Insurrection is rampant; many killed, wounded, and made prisoners on both sides.

* * * * *
Rebellion never more threatening to Spain. Rebels getting arms, money, and friends, and they outnumber the Spaniards, resident and soldiery, probably a hundred to one.

If Mr. Williams was a liar, he ought not to have been there as the consul of the United States.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. President, to proceed with the tenor of my remarks and to return to the question of the capacity of the Filipinos for government, the next document to which I call the attention of the Senate is a dispatch from Consul Williams to the Secretary of State, found on pages 327 and 328, written a very short time after the battle of Manila Bay. It is dated May 12, 1898. He says to the Secretary:

These natives are eager to be organized and led by United States officers, and the members of their cabinet visited me and gave assurance that all would swear allegiance to and cheerfully follow our flag. They are brave, submissive, and cheaply provided for.

To show their friendliness for me as our nation's only representative in this part of the world, I last week went on shore at Cavite with British consul, in his launch, to show the destruction wrought by our fleet. As soon as natives found me out, they crowded around me, hats off, shouting "Viva los Americanos," thronged about me by hundreds to shake either hand, even several at a time, men, women, and children striving to get even a finger to

shake. So I moved half a mile, shaking continuously with both hands. The British consul, a smiling spectator, said he never before saw such an evidence of friendship. Two thousand escorted me to the launch amid hurrahs of good feeling for our nation, hence I must conclude—

And it is these conclusions of Consul Williams, to which I wish the particular attention of the Senate:

First. Our squadron can force surrender in a day. Spaniards are all cooped up in Manila.

This was before our troops got there at all.

Second. Spanish officers of native regiments away, these 6,000, together with selections from the 37,000 insurgents, can give us ample land force, and can be well armed with rifles of Spanish soldiers and from barracks and arsenals.

Third. Few United States troops will be needed for conquest, and fewer still for occupancy. Expulsion of Spaniards—naval, civil, military, and clerics—will remove all discord and danger, and civil government, crude in the beginning but better than the present, will be easy and be well received, while native priests, of which there are many, can fully and with perfect acceptability meet all religious requirements so far as present established religion is concerned.

Consul Williams in this letter states to the Secretary of State that the government of these insurgents, while crude in the beginning, would be better than that which was then being administered by the Spaniards in that country. Can it be that a people who could administer better government than the Spaniards are capable of administering can be truthfully said to be barbarians?

The next evidence to which I shall call the attention of the Senate on this subject is a letter from General King, very much in line with that of Admiral Dewey. This letter is dated San Francisco, June 22, 1899. It is found published in Senate Document No. 66, and is as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, June 22, 1899.

To the Editor of the Journal, Milwaukee, Wis.

DEAR SIR: Thinking over your telegram and request of June 7, I find myself seriously embarrassed. As an officer of the Army, there are many reasons why I should not give my "views of situation in the Philippines, how long fighting is likely to continue, and thoughts as to America's part in future of islands."

The capability of the Filipinos for self government can not be doubted. Such men as Arellano, Aguinaldo, and many others whom I might name are highly educated; nine tenths of the people read and write, all are skilled artisans in one way or another; they are industrious, frugal, temperate, and, given a fair start, could look out for themselves infinitely better than our people imagine. In my opinion, they rank far higher than the Cubans or the uneducated negroes to whom we have given the right of suffrage.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES KING,
Brigadier-General.

After the surrender of Manila two of the officers of Admiral Dewey's fleet obtained leave of absence with a view of making a tour of the island of Luzon and of reporting officially to Admiral Dewey what they had observed during that tour. Those officers were Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, of the United States Navy, and Naval Cadet Leonard R. Sargent, also of the same service. They passed all of the months of October and November in the interior of the island of Luzon, traveling about from place to place. As officers of the United States, they were received in every community which they visited with the utmost friendliness and with the very highest honors which the people were capable of offering to them. After they returned they made a report to Admiral Dewey concerning what they had observed, and here is what they had to say concerning the education and intelligence of the natives:

53. The Philippine officers, both military and civil, that we have met in all

the provinces we have visited have, with very few exceptions, been men of intelligent appearance and conversation. The same is true of all those men who form the upper class in each town. The education of most of them is limited, but they appear to seize every opportunity to improve it. They have great respect and admiration for learning. Very many of them desire to send their children to schools in the United States or Europe. Many men of importance in different towns have told us that the first use to be made of the revenues of their government, after there is no more danger of war, will be to start good schools in every village. The poorer classes are extremely ignorant on most subjects, but a large percentage of them can read and write.

Further on in this report, concerning the popular sentiment on the subject of independence, it is stated:

57. Of the large number of officers, civil and military, and of leading towns-people we have met nearly every man has expressed in our presence his sentiment on this question. It is universally the same. They all declare they will accept nothing short of independence. They desire the protection of the United States at sea, but fear any interference on land. The question of the remuneration of our Government for the expense of establishing a protectorate is never touched upon. On the subject of independence there is, again, a marked difference between the four provinces first visited and those of Ilocos Sur and Union. In the former there is more enthusiasm—the sentiment is more of the people; in the latter it is more of the higher class and of the army. In these provinces we have seen signs of actual discontent with the existing state of things.

This report from which I have read was submitted by these officers to Admiral Dewey, and received from him this indorsement:

FLAGSHIP OLYMPIA,
Cavite, P. I., December 1, 1893.

Approved and respectfully forwarded for the information of the Navy Department.

Especial attention is invited to this interesting and carefully prepared report, which, in my opinion, contains the most complete and reliable information obtainable in regard to the present state of the northern part of Luzon Island.

GEORGE DEWEY,
Rear-Admiral, U. S. N., Commanding Asiatic Station.

One of these officers afterwards wrote an article for the Outlook, embracing in a more popular form the results of his observations and those of Paymaster Wilcox while engaged in making that tour. This article is also published in Senate Document No. 66, Fifty-sixth Congress, first session. I desire to have read the parts of it which are found on pages 1 and 2 of the document down to the bottom of page 2, and I send the document to the desk for that purpose.

The Secretary read as follows:

THE BACKWOODS FILIPINO.

[By Leonard R. Sargent.]

It has been my privilege to have been intimately associated with the Filipino people for a short time at a most interesting period of their history. With the permission of Admiral Dewey, I spent the greater part of the months of October and November of 1893, in company with Paymaster W. E. Wilcox, United States Navy, in the interior of the northern part of the island of Luzon. It will be remembered that at that date the United States had not yet announced its policy with regard to the Philippines. The terms of the treaty with Spain were being negotiated by our commissioners at Paris, and the fate of the islands hung in the balance. In the meantime the native population, taking matters into their own hands, had declared their independence from all foreign jurisdiction and had set up a provisional government, with Aguinaldo at its head.

Although this government has never been recognized, and in all probability will go out of existence without recognition, yet it can not be denied that, in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants, for nearly six months it stood alone between anarchy and order. The military forces of the United States held control only in Manila, with its environs, and in Cavite, and had no authority to proceed further, while in the vast remaining districts

the representatives of the only other recognized power on the field were prisoners in the hands of their despised subjects. It was the opinion at Manila during this anomalous period in our Philippine relations, and possibly in the United States as well, that such a state of affairs must breed something akin to anarchy.

I can state unreservedly, however, that Mr. Wilcox and I found the existing conditions to be much at variance with this opinion. During our absence from Manila we traveled more than 600 miles in a very comprehensive circuit through the northern part of the island of Luzon, traversing a characteristic and important district. In this way we visited seven provinces, of which some were under the immediate control of the central government at Malolos, while others were remotely situated, separated from each other and from the seat of government by natural divisions of land, and accessible only by lengthy and arduous travel. As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security, and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under the new régime.

Some years ago, at an exposition held at Barcelona, Spain, a man and woman were exhibited as representative types of the inhabitants of Luzon. The man wore a loin cloth and the woman a scanty skirt. It was evident that they belonged to the lowest plane of savagery. I think no deeper wound was ever inflicted upon the pride of the real Filipino population than that caused by this exhibition, the knowledge of which seems to have spread throughout the island. The man and woman, while actually natives of Luzon, were captives from a tribe of wild Igorrotes of the hills, a tribe as hostile to the Filipinos as to the Spaniards themselves, and equally alien to both. It is doubtful to what extent such islanders are responsible for the low esteem in which the Filipino is held; his achievements certainly have never been well advertised, while his shortcomings have been heralded abroad.

The actual, everyday Filipino is not as picturesque a creature as the Igorrote. The average human imagination has a remarkable affinity for the picturesque; and the commonplace citizen of Luzon is too often overlooked in the presence of the engrossing savage. If the observer's attention can be drawn to the former, however, much that is of interest will be found in his comparatively homely life.

In our journey we traveled first across the province of Nueva Icija, by far the poorest and least interesting of all the provinces we visited. And yet even here we were greatly surprised by the intelligence and refinement of the inhabitants. While our entertainment at first was meager—for want of the wherewithal to provide a more generous one—we could nevertheless detect the same spirit of hospitality that found vent in elaborate manifestations in the richer towns which we visited later.

We were particularly struck by the dignified demeanor of our hosts and by the graceful manner in which they extended to us their welcome. We had unlimited opportunities for conversation with the citizens of the towns, and we found everywhere a class that gave evidence of considerable culture and a certain amount of education. Their education included those branches only which were taught at the schools conducted by the priesthood at the capital towns of the provinces, and was of rather an impracticable nature. The Spanish language, Spanish history (appropriately garbled), church history, and the dead languages evidently formed its leading features.

Tuesday, January 23, 1900.

Mr. TURNER. Mr. President, I referred on yesterday to a letter written by Judge Day explaining the nature of the title which we had acquired to the Philippine Islands and expressed my regret that I did not have that letter with me at the time to refer to and from which to quote. I have the letter this morning, a letter written by Judge Day to ex-Congressman D. K. Watson, of Columbus, Ohio. It was read by the latter at a public meeting in that city. The portion of the letter to which I referred on yesterday is as follows:

It was not claimed that the United States had a right to the Philippine Islands as a matter of conquest. The United States has never undertaken, so far as I know, to wrest from a foreign country lands or possessions simply by right of conquest. Had we been disposed to do so, it must be remembered that we were in possession only of the city, bay, and harbor of Manila under the protocol of August 12, 1898, providing that the United States should occupy

and hold the same pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which should determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

The capture of the city after the signing of the protocol by General Merritt and his forces, whatever its legal effect may have been, included no more territory than we were entitled to hold under the protocol. In addition to the hope of accomplishing immediate peace, which, I need hardly say, was of great importance at that time, there was a strong desire to treat Spain with a degree of magnanimity consistent with our national honor and prestige, following our national precedent in the treatment of Mexico for the cession of territory to us at the close of the Mexican war.

CLEAR TITLE TO THE ISLANDS.

By the cession, for a consideration, we obtained an indisputable title which must be respected by all other nations.

The Secretary had just completed reading an extract from the article of Mr. Sargent published in the Outlook when I gave way for an adjournment on yesterday. I am sorry that all of that article can not be put in the possession of every American voter. It is most instructive and most interesting in the side lights which it throws on the character of the Filipino people and the details it gives of their daily life. It confirms fully all of the general statements of that gentleman which I caused to be read to the Senate on yesterday. That article and the other documents which I submitted to the Senate it seems to me conclusively establish the incorrectness of the position of the Senator from Indiana [MR. BEVERIDGE] that the Filipinos are on a par with the North American Indians and are entitled to the same and no other consideration. On the contrary, Mr. President, it appears to be true, as stated by the Senator from Massachusetts [MR. HOAR] in this Chamber the other day, that this people are as fitted for self-government as were any of the peoples of this continent south of our own Republic at the time of the recognition of their independence by us. It may be possible, it is no doubt true, that their ideas of free representative government are crude, and that they are unfitted to administer government based on an Anglo-Saxon model; but it is an absurdity, if I may be pardoned the expression, to say that they are barbarians. They have a fair share of education and refinement; they appear to be peaceable and law-abiding among themselves and kindly and hospitable to strangers; they understand that the function of government is to protect life, liberty, and property, and that the duty of the citizen is to yield allegiance in return for that protection. Such a people are within the meaning of the Declaration of Independence; and no nation can undertake to enforce an unwilling government on them without making itself guilty of tyranny and, if it hold to the Declaration of Independence, without stultifying itself in the eyes of the world. I hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that "the framers of the Declaration of Independence meant to establish a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all and revered by all, constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and, although never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere."

Liberty knows no clime, no color, no race, no creed. Its principles, as embodied in the immortal Declaration of Independence, comprehend all time, past, present, and future, and embrace all peoples to whom Almighty God has vouchsafed the instinct of association and the capacity, however limited, for orderly government. The North American Indians do not possess this instinct

or this capacity, and the Senator from Indiana was doubtless correct in saying that they were not comprehended within the Declaration; but the same thing can not be said of the Filipinos. They are a people who desire to live in friendly association with their fellows, and who understand that they and their fellows each possess rights which can only be perfectly protected and maintained by a higher power than individual might. In other words, they are fitted for government, and are entitled to the God-given right declared by the Declaration of Independence, of determining for themselves the kind of government they want. This is the essence of all liberty. The Senator from Indiana was wrong in saying that this right is an incident of liberty and not its essence, and that any government which perfectly secures to man life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness gives him the fundamentals of liberty. The first fundamental of all liberty is the right to select your own form of government and your own rulers. The best of all governments is a tyranny if imposed on the governed without their consent.

Mr. Webster well expressed this idea when he said:

We may talk of it as we please, but there is nothing that satisfies mankind in an enlightened age unless man is governed by his own country and the institutions of his own government. No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulders, if it be not imposed by the voice of his own nation and his own country, he will not, he can not, and he means not to be happy under its burdens.

The right of any people at all fitted for government to establish a bad form of government if they want to, rather than a good one, to imperfectly administer either a good or a bad form of government for themselves, rather than to have one perfectly administered for them by somebody else, is, because of the fact so eloquently expounded by Mr. Webster, as much a God-given right as was the right of the American people at the close of the Revolution to form the most perfect Government ever known to man. Mr. President, it is no impeachment of our own free institutions, nor of the governing capacity of our own people, to say that they can not govern any other people as well as the latter can govern themselves, or to say that to impose our government and our institutions on another people without their consent is to deprive them of their liberty. I assent to and concur in the panegyrics which are being delivered upon our own free institutions and upon the liberty-loving instincts of our own people by the advocates of enforced government in the Philippines; but I can not understand their application to the question in hand, and I confess that I have but little respect for the intellectual processes of the man who thinks that he can see their application. They have one useful purpose, however. They serve to furnish the people with an object lesson showing how it is possible for the greatest of minds, when taken possession of by an indefensible idea, to become involved in hopeless contradiction and in the most palpable stultification.

Mr. President, the Senator from Indiana indicates the kind of government he would have us give to the Filipinos. It involves an American captain-general, with power to meet daily emergencies, with an advisory council having no power except that of discussion; American lieutenant-governors for the several provinces, with like councils; an American adviser for each district in that country, with a like council; an American board of visitation to visit the archipelago semiannually, with no power other than that

of visitation and report; American judges to try all but the very smallest criminal offenses; the introduction of the English language throughout the islands, the teaching of it in the schools, and employing it exclusively in the courts. He would not have us to give that people this extremely liberal government immediately—the time is not ripe for that. At present military government is advisable. Along with this government, when finally established and backed by sufficient power to maintain and execute it, he expects Congress to legislate so as to bring about various beneficial reforms in that country, among which are a Philippine civil service, the abolition of duties on exports, the establishment of import duties on a revenue basis, with discriminations in favor of American imports, so that we may compel the inhabitants to buy our calicoes; a complete reform of local taxation on a just and scientific basis, the minting of an abundance of money, the granting of franchises and concessions upon the theory of developing the resources of the archipelago, the formation of public schools everywhere, the establishment of a simple civil code and a still simpler criminal code, the gradual, slow, and careful introduction of the best Filipinos into the working machinery of the government, and with no promise whatever of the franchise until the people have been prepared for it.

Mr. President, this proposed scheme of government involves both wise legislation and honest administration. It is not surprising that the Senator from Indiana expects to secure the latter, because one who has the high opinion of the virtue and intelligence of the ordinary American ward heeler entertained by the Senator from Indiana could have no doubt of honest administration in a foreign country by any class of our American citizens. But his hope and expectation of securing wise legislation by Congress, in view of the inaction of that body in every direction, save that of furthering the interests of the dominant political party, would hardly seem to me to be well founded. Our experience in Alaska and in Hawaii does not give much of hope and promise to the great majority of the Filipinos striving, according to the President, to come under the dominion of this exceedingly liberal government devised for them by the Senator from Indiana.

The Senator from Indiana expects this government of his, when put in operation, to prove a boon to ourselves as well as to the Filipinos. When we shall have projected ourselves, as it were, on a living screen and seen ourselves in the act of administering it as others see us, he expects the example to have a very beneficial influence here in America. This strong and simple government in the Philippines is by a kind of reflex action to kick us into good government here at home. To paraphrase the biblical quotation employed by the Senator in this connection and to give it the meaning which he evidently intended it to have, "that government which we mete out to the Filipinos, it shall be meted out to us again." Truly a most wise and sapient application of Holy Writ. Who our governor-general shall be when this Filipino government has begun to have the boomerang effect predicted for it by the Senator from Indiana he does not indicate. What language other than our own shall be employed in trying us for crime he leaves to conjecture. Who shall make our civil and criminal code for us, what nation furnish us our judges, what country sell us our calico, what political system develop its ward workers into our political administrators, the Senator leaves in the dark. It is not

given to one finite mind to draw great outlines and at the same time to fill in the petty details. No doubt the future Kamchatkan statesman, who comes to us as our proconsul, will be wise and just and humane and the highest example of the then Kamchatkan civilization. That is all we will have a right to expect, and no doubt we will be happy under the laws and the administrators brought with him for our government. We will have to be, indeed, if his government comes, like that of the Senator from Indiana to the Philippines, "backed with sufficient power to execute it." *Salve imperator!*

Mr. President, already our experience in the Philippines is beginning to have the boomerang effect predicted by the Senator from Indiana. There is a primitive people, a mere handful, living in South Africa, pious and simple, brave and heroic, but careless of the great wealth lying under their hands, indifferent to its civilizing influences, and asking only to be permitted to live their own simple lives in their own simple way.

They are the last link which binds us to one of the great heroic epochs in the world's history, because they are of the same blood and, by reason of their long isolation, they may well be said to be the same identical people who braved the power of Spain when Spain was mistress of the world in order that religious liberty might not perish from off the face of the earth, who fought for eighty years with a desperation and valor never before known in that sacred cause, who pulled down their altars and their firesides, piece by piece and stone by stone, and piled them up as breastworks against the approach of their invaders and oppressors, who gave their land up to the cruel sea, time after time, rather than give it up to the scarcely less cruel Spaniard, who through it all saw their land devastated by fire and sword and rapine, drenched in blood and maimed with slaughter, but who faltered not, and who emerged from the long struggle torn, decimated, bleeding, and impoverished, but rich in the right which they had won for themselves and the heritage which they had won for mankind—the right of each man to worship God after his own fashion.

A great nation having racial tendencies similar to our own has seen the present backward and deplorable condition of affairs existing among those people, and has determined to regenerate and improve them, as we are now regenerating and improving the brave but simple Filipinos. Unhappily, they are not succeeding so well in their self-imposed task as we are doing. The Afrikanders are proving themselves to be worthy sons of heroic sires. If they had lived in that day, they might have sat in council with William the Silent and fought in the ranks of Maurice of Nassau. But living in this day, they are making a struggle equally as heroic as their ancestors made and one which has won for them the wondering admiration of mankind throughout the entire world.

Because of that which we, in common with mankind, owe to their blood, because they are bravely fighting for their homes and their firesides, because they are fighting for the God-given right to govern themselves and their affairs in their own way, because when they go down another republic will have perished, they undoubtedly carry with them in their struggle the profound sympathy of the American people. In other days that sympathy would have been expressed through governmental channels. We have frequently interposed in such struggles with less call upon

our sympathy and less justification for our interposition. But now we dare not. The ghost of Liberty, murdered in the Philippines, stands in the way.

Truly we have cast our bread upon the waters. We can not even preserve a decent neutrality between those brave people and their assailants. The latter depredates upon our commerce on the high seas, attempts to destroy it, in fact—because no combatant people will long undertake to deal with another people lacking in the spirit or disposition to protect their own noncontraband trade—and we accept an indefinite promise of some indefinite indemnity in the future as full and complete reparation for the wrongs done to us. Then we permit this same combatant to come into our ports and make them the bases for provisioning and supplying its own armies without protest or shadow of protest on the part of our officials. Mr. President, civilization must go forward and our coadjutor in the great work must not be hampered or interfered with. It is yet permitted to us, however, as individuals, to avert our eyes, and as these noble people with their institutions go down to death and oblivion to say to them, as I now do, Thou last survivors of a heroic age, hail and farewell!

Mr. President, it is not surprising that one holding the peculiar views of government entertained by the Senator from Indiana, and who, after they shall have fruited in the Philippines expects to see their seed wafted back to our own shores, should become impatient of freedom of debate in our legislative halls and attempt to crimp it down to the dimensions of his twentieth-century Filipino government. But as we are yet enjoying in this Chamber the government devised for us by our eighteenth-century ancestors, I thought it a remarkable thing when the Senator from Indiana turned to Senators who have been in public life for a period longer than he has been in existence, and who have honored themselves and their country through it all by an upright bearing, and because they had spoken here freely and honestly, as they had a right to do and as they always ought to do regardless of consequences, should say to them: "The blood of our dead and wounded boys is on your hands, and all the floods of all the years can never wash that stain away." This statement was remarkable because of the fact stated and also because of its utter baselessness. Whoever may be responsible for the precious blood shed in the Philippines, it can not be laid at the door of the men in this Chamber who sought to stay the hand of aggression in that desolated country. Everyone knows that if their advice had been taken the American people would never have been embroiled in war with their friends and allies in the Philippines. Surely, Mr. President, they had a right to give their advice. The blood of our young men is precious; nobody realizes that more than I do; but I am certain that they themselves would pour it out like water as a libation on the altar of their country rather than see freedom of debate in the legislative halls of their country abridged or denied. If the Senator from Indiana is looking for those whose hands are truly red with blood and whose minds should be haunted to the last moment of their lives by the rigid face of the dead American soldier in the Philippines, let him look elsewhere and he may possibly find them, but he will not find them here.

While we are on this subject of bloodshed and the responsibility therefor, I want to ask some man to tell this Senate and the American Republic why it is that the envoys of the insurgents were re-

ceived with ignominy and contempt when they appeared at our headquarters immediately after the initial outbreak, represented that the collision between their forces and ours was accidental and not designed, and asked for the establishment of a *modus vivendi*, whereby peace might be maintained pending the settlement of the fate of the islands by the American Congress. Why was their reasonable request denied and they told that since the war had been started it must now be continued to the bitter end? Why do we hear the same vindictive story from the President, from General Otis, from the Senator from Indiana, from the myriad newspapers subsidized to debauch the conscience of the country, that the war once started must now be prosecuted with unrelenting vigor until the Filipino people lie broken and helpless at our feet? Did we not owe something to that people? Were they not lately our companions in arms? Would it not have been generous and humane and magnanimous and American to have listened to their reasonable request for a cessation of hostilities until their fate had been determined by the American Congress? The President has always said that the matter was one for the determination of Congress. Then why not permit Congress to approach its determination with that calmness and moderation which peace alone would have insured? Was it because there was fear that the conclusion reached by Congress might not be that which certain interests in this country desired? I shall not say so, Mr. President, but several things are certain. All the bloodshed in the Philippines since the first outbreak might have been avoided by listening to the reasonable request of the Filipinos for a cessation of hostilities. The American Congress might now be approaching the question of the fate of those islands in a spirit of justice and moderation and of thoughtful regard for the rights of the people of the islands, and there would be no cause, even if one could be found with temerity enough to try it, to attempt to put fetters upon freedom of speech in the American Congress by the parrot cry of "Blood, blood!"

Mr. President, I shall not enter upon an extended constitutional argument concerning the power of Congress to govern the Territories. That power is undoubtedly supreme, with one limitation. The laws enacted for their government must conform to those certain provisions of the Constitution intended to have general application and to embrace all Territories of the United States wherever situated and whatever the form of government enjoyed by them. Those laws must not trench upon the guaranties in favor of the individual security of the citizen contained in that instrument, nor upon those provisions designed to secure, in all the possessions of the United States, uniformity in taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, nor upon those provisions intended to fix everywhere the status of citizens of the Republic.

It was strenuously denied at the last session of Congress in this Chamber that there were any provisions of the Constitution having application to Territories other than that which gave Congress the power to make all needful rules and regulations for their government. But that contention was in the face of a long line of decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States which would have staggered anybody except one of our latter-day adepts in twentieth-century government. I have read all of those cases again since the debate at the last session, and I am surprised that any lawyer who cares anything at all for his reputation should

hazard it by such a contention. The very cases relied on as most strongly supporting the plenary power of Congress are cases in which the revenue laws of the nation were extended over unorganized Territories of the United States by virtue of the provisions of the Constitution requiring uniformity in taxation.

In addition to the limitation on the power to govern Territories, there is, I believe, a limitation on the power of the Government to acquire them, namely, that they shall have fitness for and be intended for ultimate statehood in the Union of States. This limitation, however, is implied and has its sole sanction in the legislative and executive conscience; and in this utilitarian age, when even the positive written provisions of the Constitution chafe and irritate, it is not to be expected that this limitation would be looked on in some quarters with respect or even with toleration. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court of the United States on more than one occasion has declared that this limitation does in fact exist.

Mr. President, if either of these limitations be admitted to exist, then it puts an end to our pretensions in the Philippines. No person on either side of the Philippine question has ever admitted or will admit, I apprehend, that we can, after any possible lapse of time, admit the Philippine Islands into the Union as one or more of the States of the United States of America. While their people undoubtedly have some capacity for government, they have none whatever for Anglo-Saxon government, and never will have. To admit 10,000,000 Filipinos now, or 20,000,000 or 40,000,000 in the indefinite future, as the case may be, to American citizenship through statehood would be the beginning of the end of the American Republic. I need not argue that proposition. If it be not true, every person in this country, at least, believes it to be true. Therefore, if we are limited in the acquisition of territory to such as may ultimately be erected into States, we must either immediately withdraw from the Philippines or, if we determine to retain them, must immediately proceed to exterminate their inhabitants. There is no middle course. I was about to say that nobody in this country could be brought to contemplate so frightful an alternative, but when I hear warfare upon the Filipinos justified upon the ground of the duty we owe to that people, I shall not hazard any opinion upon that subject.

Mr. President, we are not any better off if it be held that this limitation on the power to acquire territory to which I have referred does not in fact exist. The Constitution of the United States fortunately yet exists, although there is some demand for its partial abrogation by amendment, in order to enable us to meet this Philippine situation, and under the provisions of that instrument these people and their descendants would become citizens of the United States, although not citizens of any particular State. And under the provisions of the same instrument they would become citizens of any State the moment they entered into and became domiciled within its limits. Thus, while we might avoid Philippine statehood, we could not avoid an American Philippine citizenship, with perfect right and title to flow into any of the already-organized States and to there assist in controlling their destinies, and, through them, the destinies of the American Republic. I shall not stop now to cite the provisions of the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States expounding them under which this condition

would be brought about, but I apprehend that no lawyer will deny their existence or their binding force. If any shall do so, I shall be curious to hear the ground upon which he predicates his opinion.

When we shall have finally annexed the Philippines many curious and inconvenient consequences will ensue besides that of debauching the citizenship of the nation. I shall refer now, however, to only one. The Filipino will become entitled to all the rights of citizens of the United States. He can come and go at pleasure everywhere within the confines of the nation. He can bring or send his products here as freely as Americans now interchange their products between themselves and with the same exemption from taxes and duties. This will be to debauch the labor of the country, to pit the 10,000,000 underpaid and underfed Filipinos against the mechanic, the artisan, and the laboring man of the land. If it be true, as claimed by the Senator from Indiana, that the Filipinos will not come here because the Dutch did not permit the Javanese to go to Holland, their products will come here, and that will be the same thing from the standpoint of labor. If this be a good thing to bring about, why is it that we have upon our statute books restrictions against the landing of Asiatics on our shores and against their right to apply for naturalization in our courts? It would seem that this rage for dominion is growing so fast that it is not only causing our people to be dissatisfied with their own political institutions, but is causing them to reverse their policy in almost any and every direction.

Mr. President, there is one way and only one in which we may continue to hold the Philippines and yet avoid the disastrous consequences to which I have referred. So long as we can maintain a state of war in those islands the military rule will override the civil law, the law of the Constitution included. Inter arma silent leges. Certain advocates of the President's policy have recognized this fact, and, while urging the retention of the Philippines, are seriously insisting that Congress shall never legislate so as to give civil or political recognition to the Philippine Islands. These people, however eccentric their views of free government, are honest and well informed, and that which they insist on now will be ultimately insisted on by every advocate of the President's policy. Not to insist on it is to contemplate with equanimity internal disorders and radical national changes for which all the riches of the Philippines can not compensate. And I should like to suggest to these same advocates that the establishment of government by the bayonet will also introduce radical changes in our national economy for which not all the riches and all the wealth of all the possessions in the world could compensate the American people. Mr. President, it is evident to my mind that those citizens are right who criticise the President's policy and call it a policy of imperialism. To call it expansion is a misnomer, if for no other reason than that the population of the Philippine Islands is already so dense that there is no room for expansion there. There is room for the Filipino to expand on the American continent, but there is no room for American expansion on all the continent of Asia or any of its outlying and tributary islands. We do not want imperialism or a government by the bayonet in any American possession. The American people do not want it. The craze for speculation and the rage for innovation may push us forward now when the obligations to pause are not well known and the

result of proceeding is not well understood. But those things will become better known in the future, and then, if we proceed now, we will retrace our steps in sackcloth and ashes and with fervent thanksgiving to Almighty God that the way of retreat is yet left open to us. We have already now provisionally made the Filipinos citizens of the Republic. The only thing that keeps them and their products out of the country is the fact that a state of war exists in the Philippine Islands, and this enables General Otis to govern the islands as he pleases. If we now clinch our title there, the only way to keep them out of the country permanently is to continue to make war on them permanently. Mr. President, let the advocates of annexation examine this question carefully and see whether the results to which I have pointed are not those which must necessarily ensue if we proceed to carry out the President's policy in the Philippines; and if so, let them ask themselves whether they are prepared to pay the price required for the benefits of annexation. If they are not, they should immediately retrace their steps; the way is open to them. It is never too late to listen to the dictates of prudence, and it should be an easy task when honor points the way.

Mr. President, I do not understand the position of those Senators who profess respect for the fundamentals of self-government and would see them applied in the Philippines, and who yet insist that the war must be prosecuted with unrelenting vigor until the Filipinos have been whipped into submission, before making any declaration on the subject. They must know, as everybody knows, that a declaration by Congress of its purpose to confer self-government on the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands will put a stop to warfare there instantly. Then why can not everybody who is in favor of making that declaration at some time unite in making it now and thus stop further bloodshed? Human life is not so cheap, misery and suffering so insignificant, that we can afford to sacrifice the one and augment the other on a point of etiquette. I heard Senators at the last session of Congress declare, with a great deal of heat, that they would never consent to any declaration on the subject so long as the Filipinos were found with arms in their hands against our authority. Without intending to reflect on any Senator, it seems to me that we can not at this conjuncture act or forbear acting on a view so small, so repugnant to Christian charity and all the dictates of humane benevolence. We are in the position of a strong man who has been attacked by a weak and puny child. What would be thought of such a man if he were to insist on continuing the fight until his assailant had been whipped into submission on the ground that his dignity would be injured and his prestige impaired by pursuing any other course? We ought now to stop this war if we can. We can stop it. We can stop it in a manner consonant with our own honor, with our own dignity, and with the interests of our own people, and to fail to stop it when it can be done so easily is to convict ourselves of a cruel pride and vindictive resentment unworthy the American people.

My own view of the course to be pursued at this conjuncture in the matter of the Philippine Islands is that we should pass a resolution, as simple and direct as possible, declaring it to be the purpose of the American people to confer independence on the people of the Philippine Islands whenever they shall have shown themselves fitted for that great boon, on condition that they now lay

down their arms and submit to the authority of the United States, and on the further condition that when we retire from the islands we have liberty to retain such parts of them for coaling, naval, and military stations as our interests in the far east may require. Such a resolution would immediately bring about peace, would be in consonance with our traditional political principles, and would leave us far stronger from a military point of view in the Eastern Hemisphere than if we continue to hold the islands. I am very far from being unmindful of our interests in that quarter of the globe. We have vast interests there which must be protected. To permit any nation or combination of nations to hem China in with a cordon of guns is to permit them to bar us out. We can not suffer that. China is our friend and neighbor and customer, and aggression on her under certain circumstances is aggression on us. Of course we are not required to act the part of Don Quixote and go to the assistance of our celestial neighbors unless our own material interests are threatened. If it be true, as stated in the public prints, that the nations appearing to have designs on that country have made pledges to us of free and unrestricted trade in territory already occupied by them or which they shall hereafter occupy, that perhaps ought to be accepted as sufficient. It is not a very brave or generous thing to do, but probably it would be approved by the resolutions of prudence. But one thing is certain. If those nations have made us these pledges, or shall do so, it will be on condition that we make reciprocal concessions in our Eastern possessions. This, every lawyer knows, we can not do without amending our great organic law. Thus we have the seeds of certain controversy in that quarter of the world which sooner or later will embroil us in war. We can avoid all this by granting independence to the Filipino, can win back his confidence in us and his gratitude to us, can make him our friend and ally forever, can secure by commercial treaties with him all the benefits of annexation without any of its burdens, and with restricted possessions in that country, sufficient, however, for our naval and military power, we will be all the better equipped to compel that respect for our flag which the interests of our people there may require. This is all absurdly easy of accomplishment. All that it requires is a little generosity and magnanimity and a loyal adherence to the fundamental principles of our own Government. Senators, do not let the rage of faction defeat a consummation so much to be desired. Let us do the right thing and do it quickly, because the right thing, if it is to be done effectively, ought to be done quickly. We will never regret it. The nation will never regret it. On the contrary, succeeding generations will rise up and call us blessed. If I were called on to formulate a watchword of American statesmanship at this juncture in our affairs, I should say that justice to the Filipino, our friend and ally, and fidelity to ourselves, is the sentiment that should inspire every true American heart.

Mr. President, one more thought and I am done. We do not need the city of Manila for the purposes of our trade and commerce. If, as has been suggested, it shall become a second and greater Liverpool through our trade, it will be at the expense of those Liverpools which should be built up on our own coast, and it will profit principally a motley population of foreigners, for whom we care nothing. Nor will the possession of that city add anything materially to our trade. These catchwords with which

it has been sought to dazzle the multitude arc music to the ear, but an inharmonious jangle to the sense. Manila is not the gateway of the Orient for us. It does not command the trade of the Pacific for anybody. There is no royal road to either wealth or commerce. The only way to attain either one of them is by hard, constant, and unremitting labor. If we would control a large part of the trade of the East we must manufacture cheaply, convey our goods to them in our own bottoms, and sell the goods to them there at their own doors for less money than any other nation can afford to sell to them for. In this way and only in this way can we control the trade of the Orient.

Let us go to work, then, and settle the questions of internal economy pressing on us, in order that the energies of the American people may be freed to address themselves to the task of capturing the trade of China. There are enough such questions, and they are of sufficient importance to engage our attention without dragging in the interests of a strange and an alien people. We may feel kindly toward that people; I am certain that we all do; but we owe them no duty except justice, and they ask no other boon at our hands. If we shall give them that, we will do more for their mental, moral, and political regeneration and that of their kindred races than we could do by a hundred years of political connection and association through such government as our interests would permit us to give them. We will do this by the force of example—the only way we can safely undertake to promote self-government in another hemisphere—the example of a great and a free people, risen through the excellence of their institutions to a position of such strength and vantage and strengthened by love of those institutions and the practice of their noble precepts to such virtue, that while they fear no power on earth, however powerful, no power on earth, however weak, which is deserving needs to fear them or their strength. Oh, what a noble example! It has been ours to give ever since our fathers gave to the world the glory of the American Republic. It is impossible to estimate the influence which it has exerted upon free government and the amelioration of hard political conditions during the last century. Let us pray that it may continue to be ours to give and that it may not be said of the American people now, to be repeated in future in derogation of freedom, that they who have sat so long at the feet of Liberty were the first in their blindness to plunge a dagger into the heart of her youngest and latest devotee.

